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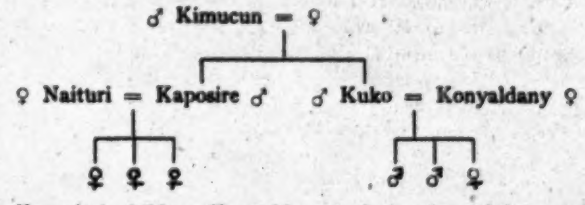
ficatory mother, *siyo*, has a similar position, and if the father's mother is not alive, or living far away, she takes the grandmother's place in helping her husband's brother's wife; and being younger than the grandmother, can give more active assistance. This was the case with two brothers both married, whose mother was dead:



To Kaposire's children, Konyaldany took the place of the grandmother; and Naituri did the same for Kuko's children,. The father's brother is the equivalent, as an authority in the lives of children, of the mother's brother among the Nandi and elsewhere, and is as near as possible a second father. Patrilocal residence as well as other factors no doubt account for this; and the effect is that the father's brother is someone to be reckoned with, a man with whom a boy should keep on good terms, and one of whom permission must be obtained before a boy is circumcised. Kimutai arap Ruto is Arap Mining's brother. He lived in the same settlement at Kipukua, and saw his brother's children every day. When he greeted them, he said, *Sopai, leiye*, and they answered, *Epa, papa*. (Here *leiye* is used loosely as a term of familiarity.) The father's brother gives the children food and other things; he teaches them much of what it is necessary for them to know, and when they ask him questions, like what is this grass called? what are you going to do with that piece of wood? what made those marks on the ground? and so forth, he answers them in such a way that question and answer become part of their education. He shows them his bow, arrows, and quiver, his knives, his honey bags. He takes them into the forest and tells them how people look after their bees, how they make honey-barrels, and how they take honey. He teaches them to use firesticks, and explains the magical observances towards bees and honey.

The mother's brother, *mama*, the father's sister, *pukot*, and their spouses (f. *mama*, m. *konyit*) are in a different category from the father's brother. Not only do they live in different settlements, but the mother's brother has no special position of authority. And while all Dorobo to whom I talked knew their father's brother, many did not know their mother's brother, either by name or by sight. Others knew his name, but had never seen him; and in one or two cases when I was taking down genealogies men had to ask their friends what their mother's brothers' names were. It is thus quite clear that the mother's brother is of little account, and that the father's brother is a much more important person.

Yet on occasion the mother's brother is accorded a respect that is not his customary due. Arap Mining was a great follower of tradition, but

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arap Ruto. There were also two old women, Cesikirikat mother of Arap Mining, and Cepkatet mother of Cesundil. With these lived Cesundil's young sister Cepkoiec, aged about 15, who helped her brother's wife to look after the two children, and slept either in her mother's hut, or in the hut of Cesikirikat, eating with her mother or with Cesundil and his wife. The three men Malakuen, Kipsang, and Kimutai lived together, eating with either of the old women (contributing their share of the food), while Kipungei lived alone, eating with his mother. Cepkoiec could marry none of these young men, since they were all her clansmen. Such an arrangement seems to be quite usual when a girl has reached puberty but has not yet been circumcised. At Sosoiyo a somewhat younger girl named Cepotip lived in a small hut (*sikiroinet*) with her youngest brother Kimitei (a *Juma*). When she went visiting to the neighbouring settlement Ndoroton she stayed with women there who, when they came to Sosoiyo, slept in Cepotip's hut, the boy going out to sleep elsewhere.

Where other relatives are concerned, the age-set behaviour patterns tend to replace those of kinship, and even when people are related and within the *tiliet*, they are for practical purposes little more regarded than fellow-clansmen. Indeed, in a clan settlement, such people have more influence and effect on their neighbours' children than blood-relatives who live at a distance.

In a primitive people like the Dorobo there is little formality in the educational system, which consists largely of training in obedience, behaviour, and techniques, which are learned from the parents and others with whom the child comes into contact. These contacts are not large owing to the nature of the country and the social system, and thus the relatives with whom a child is seriously concerned are but few. This narrow range of contact must be considered in the light of such important factors as the absence of tracks through the forest, the scattering of relatives, and the abnormal shyness and suspicion of the Dorobo.

Up to the age when a child can be of some help to its parents, both boys and girls are mainly with their mother, who teaches them the business of eating and living in a hut. She corrects childish bad habits and makes them familiar with the ordinary customs and precautions of every day life that have to be observed in Dorobo surroundings. The father corrects improper behaviour towards himself and the mother.

But at the age of usefulness, which comes a little before the onset of puberty, and depends on the child's growth and intelligence, there is a division of duties between the parents. The father begins to teach his son the elements of hunting and trapping, how to make things of wood, how to skin animals, and how to use a bow and arrow, in short, how to behave like a man and do man's work. The mother teaches her daughter how to manage a home, how to look after small children, and how to perform the normal tasks of a Dorobo woman. At this stage both boys and girls are in one respect general servants of the family; they have to herd any stock their father may possess, and make themselves useful about the homestead.

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867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[[71] [74]] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinuakik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, [562] do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.